1: Gusinde--973 S-S (1910-1924) 1937 Ona Yahgan Ona

/973 cont./

437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measure. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 439 described above. For example, SD:387 gives mandyákmaqapi, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/. Likewise, mandyákmara, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (398). Darwin (d):251 wrote:

> 398. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift chosen for a canoe and it was dropped

437 many of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the dog and *Alasuhf*, and with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a gift was made, sometimes often of the widow of the recipient, who could not refuse it without offending the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

548 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the deceased's property was buried with the body. The person's dog fell to the eldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

485 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not on daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very commonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries. Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[562] [563] Probably hunting and fishing as food providers had a good deal to do with the relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to men and women jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.